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INTELLIGENCE

Rattling Skeletons in the

It's been tough going for the Central Intelligence Agency of late. The agency was tarnished by Watergate and embarrassed by revelations that it had spent \$8 million to undermine Chilean President Salvador Allende's Marxist government. Last week threatened to bring even worse opprobrium. On Capitol Hill, the heads of four different committees and subcommittees announced parallel investigations of the CIA to begin when Congress reconvenes. From his vacation retreat in Vail, Colo., Gerald Ford ordered up a report by CIA Director William E. Colby that was flown

to him by courier plane. The furor was a story in the *New Times* charging that for about the CIA had illegally spied on American citizens within the U.

One immediate consequence was the departure of a little-known but important official, James Angleton, who served as CIA chief of counterintelligence. Angleton, it was believed, had pervaded the domestic espionage operations. But he denied having to do with domestic surveillance and insisted that his resignation was because of an indiscretion in the course of an interview with the press that could have jeopardized the agency in Moscow.

The main outline of the domestic spying was drawn by Reporter Seymour M. Hersh (*THE PRESS*). He wrote that the agency had conducted in clandestine surveillance operations—including wiretaps, break-ins (known as "bag jobs") and surreptitious interception of mail—and eventually amassed intelligence files on some 10,000 Americans. Hersh disclosed no names, though he mentioned that at least one Congressman had been involved.

Among the targets of CIA surveillance, *TIME* has learned, were Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, former Democratic Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher of New Jersey, Democratic Representative Claude Pepper of Florida and the late Democratic Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri. A high CIA official, responding to a *TIME* inquiry, denied that the agency had kept any kind of watch on these public men. But other sources insisted that the surveillance had been conducted.

Such activity would clearly violate the National Security Act of 1947, which states that the CIA "shall have no police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers, or internal-security functions." The law limits the agency's espionage functions to foreign operations. When the CIA follows a target to the U.S. or uncovers a connection between a foreign operative and a domestic group, the case is supposed to be turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

For the moment at least, the agency was hunkering down. Former Director Richard Helms,

according to Victor Marchetti, a discredited former agency official and co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, "Into that system go the names of anyone who visited an 'enemy' or politically sensitive country whom the agency might have wanted to debrief. There are also lists from travel companies and airlines and others shared with the agency by Army intelligence or the FBI." Using Actress Jane Fonda as a hypothetical but plausible example—she opposed the U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and visited Hanoi—Marchetti speculates that the CIA computer would probably store the names of all her known business, professional and personal associates.

Gray Area. The agency's defenders emphasize the distinction between 10,000 names in a computer memory bank and 10,000 dossiers. They also insisted that whatever domestic spying took place was relatively isolated and resulted from links—real or imagined—between Americans and foreign subversive organizations. The defenders suggested that there is a "gray area" in which foreign and domestic operations cannot be neatly separated. According to insiders, these borderline transgressions tended to follow four patterns:

- 1) A foreign agent takes up residence in the U.S., perhaps under embassy cover, and contacts U.S. citizens. As a consequence, the agency decides to keep tabs on those citizens.
- 2) An American political dissenter goes abroad and travels to Communist or other unfriendly countries. The agency decides to run computer checks on his associates in the U.S.



AMBASSADOR RICHARD HELMS



CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM COLBY
Hunkering down.